

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-11 ISO-00 SIG-03 MMO-01 CIAE-00
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DRAFTED BY AF/E:KPGARLAND:JJ
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 143756

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBRD, MASS, EINV, ET, US

SUBJECT: FELEKE WARNS U.S. ON SOMALI ARMS DEAL

REF: STATE 135964

1. SUMMARY: IN JUNE 2 MEETING INITIATED BY DEPUTY
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ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP TO DISCUSS COMPENSATION
PROBLEMS, ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FELEKE DELIVERED
STERN WARNING AGAINST U.S. PROPOSALS FOR SELLING DEFENSIVE
ARMS TO SOMALIA. HE STATED MATTER WAS OF GREAT CONCERN TO
ETHIOPIA AND U.S. SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF IT CAUSES
DETERIORATION IN RECENTLY IMPROVED U.S.- ETHIOPIAN RELA-
TIONS. FELEKE STATED THAT ERITREA WAS AN INTERNAL ETHIO-
PIAN MATTER AND NOT A SUBJECT FOR OAU, UN, OR ARAB CONCERN.
LAMENTING STATE OF U.S.- ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS IN RECENT
YEARS, FELEKE SAID U.S. SHOULD AVOID ANY FURTHER INTERFER-

ENCE IN ETHIOPIAN AFFAIRS AND BEGIN TO BUILD ANEW THE RELATIONSHIP U.S. HAD DESTROYED BY DESERTING ETHIOPIA. IN OPENING MEETING, HARROP NOTED THAT RECENT PRESS REPORTS ALLEGING ADMIRAL TURNER AND DAVID AARON DISCUSSED ACTIONS IN ERITREA WITH SENATOR CLARK WERE NOT TRUE. HARROP NOTED OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA AND URGED ACTION ON UPPER DIDESSA RESETTLEMENT PROJECT.

HE EXPLAINED U.S. LAWS ON COMPENSATION AND NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION. ON LATTER POINT, FELEKE OBSERVED U.S. DID NOT HAVE ANYWHERE NEAR AS MUCH DOLLAR VALUE EXPROPRIATED AS DID ITALY AND OTHERS BUT FIRMS WOULD BE PROPERLY COMPENSATED IN DUE COURSE. PMGSE HAD HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY ACTIVATING COMPENSATION COMMISSION BECAUSE OF WARS, REVOLUTION, REBELLIONS AND FAMINE. END SUMMARY.

2. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP TRAVELED TO NEW YORK JUNE 2 TO DISCUSS BILATERAL RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE COMPENSATION ISSUE, WITH ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER FELEKE. HARROP OPENED MEETING NOTING THAT DAVID AARON, WHO CAME TO ADDIS AS A SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY IN FEBRUARY, RETAINS AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN U.S.-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS. HARROP FIRMLY DENIED

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PRESS REPORTS OF PREVIOUS WEEK WHICH ALLEGED THAT AARON HAD DISCUSSED WITH SENATOR CLARK POSSIBLE INDIRECT AID TO ERITREAN REBELS. HARROP ASSURED FELEKE THAT NEITHER AARON NOR ADMIRAL TURNER HAD DISCUSSED SUCH A MATTER WITH SENATOR CLARK. AS SECRETARY VANCE TOLD FELEKE LAST WEEK (REFTEL), U.S. WILL NOT INTERVENE IN ERITREA.

3. HARROP THEN TURNED TO SUBJECT OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND U.S. DESIRE ASSIST ETHIOPIA IN ACHIEVING WORTHWHILE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GOALS. HE OBSERVED THAT WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE \$2 MILLION UPPER DIDESSA PROJECT WHICH HAS BEEN AWAITING PMGSE SIGNATURE FOR OVER SIX MONTHS. HARROP NOTED THAT THE END OF THE FISCAL YEAR IS APPROACHING AND THAT WE MUST OBLIGATE AID FUNDS. HARROP INVITED ETHIOPIA OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS THE PROJECT WITH OUR AID OFFICIALS IN ADDIS IF THERE ARE SOME PARTICULAR TECHNICAL PROBLEMS. FELEKE WAS UNAWARE OF DELAY IN UPPER DIDESSA PROJECT AND PROMISED TO LOOK INTO IT.

4. HARROP INFORMED FELEKE THAT MAIN PURPOSE OF TRIP WAS TO DISCUSS EXPROPRIATION/COMPENSATION QUESTION. HARROP NOTED OUR LAWS ARE VERY STRINGENT ON THIS SUBJECT AND THAT HE WOULD BE LEAVING AN AIDE-MEMOIRE EXPLAINING THE LAWS. IN SHORT, EVEN IF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH DOES NOT WANT TO VOTE NO IN INTERNATIONAL FUND VOTES OR CUT OFF ITS BILATERAL ASSISTANCE, U.S. LAWS COULD FORCE IT TO DO SO. HARROP NOTED THAT ETHIOPIAN FINMIN AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF

TREASURY BERGSTEN HAD DISCUSSED THE QUESTION IN DETAIL AT LIBREVILLE. PURPOSE IN COMING TO NEW YORK WAS TO STRESS THAT WE WERE AT POINT WHERE IT WAS NECESSARY THAT ETHIOPIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION INVITE ONE OR MORE U.S. COMPANIES TO COME TO ADDIS AND NEGOTIATE - IN GOOD FAITH - COMPENSA-

TION FOR THEIR PROPERTY. IF THAT WERE DONE, HARROP FELT THAT EXECUTIVE BRANCH COULD INFORM CONGRESS AND OTHERS THAT SIGNIFICANT ACTION WAS BEING TAKEN TO COMPENSATE U.S. SECRET

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FIRMS.

5. IN CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS, HARROP STATED U.S. HAS NOT BEEN AGAINST ETHIOPIA'S REVOLUTION, THAT U.S. SUPPORTS ETHIOPIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND THAT U.S. IS WORKING TO MOVE SIAD TO AGREE TO RESPECT HIS NEIGHBORS' BORDERS. HARROP ADDED THAT WE HAVE URGED ARAB POWERS TO MAKE SIMILAR DEMARCHES TO SIAD URGING HIM TO OBSERVE HIS NEIGHBORS' BORDERS.

6. FELEKE BEGAN BY NOTING PMGSE POSITION ON BILATERAL MATTERS HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO AARON IN FEBRUARY. PMGSE HAS SEEN SOME SIGNS OF U.S. COMPREHENSION OF ETHIOPIAN VIEWPOINT SINCE THEN BUT THERE ARE STILL SOME ISSUES WHICH CONCERN ETHIOPIA. ONE WAS REPORT ON AARON/CLARK CONVERSATION WHICH HARROP HAD JUST MENTIONED. AFTER HARROP REPEATED THAT USG PLANNED NO INTERFERENCE IN ERITREA AT ANY LEVEL, FELEKE EXPRESSED HOPE U.S. MEANT WHAT IT SAID BECAUSE IT WOULD BE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT LATER IF ETHIOPIA FOUND USG CHANGED VIEWS. HE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT ERITREAN SITUATION IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR LIKE BIAFRA. LIKE SHABA, HOWEVER, REBELLION IS SUPPORTED FROM OUTSIDE. U.S. CANNOT CONDEMN AGGRESSION IN ZAIRE ON ONE HAND, THEN CRITICIZE ETHIOPIAN ACTIONS IN ERITREA AND THE OGADEN ON THE OTHER.

7. ON NATIONALIZATION/COMPENSATION ISSUE, FELEKE REPLIED THAT PMGSE DEPENDS ON THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO EXPLAIN TO CONGRESS (A) THAT ETHIOPIA WILL PAY COMPENSATION, AND (B) THAT COMPENSATION COMMISSION IS INVESTIGATING ALL CLAIMS (OF WHICH U.S.-OWNED ONLY SMALL PART) AND UNCOVERING MANY PROBLEMS OF FRAUD AND/OR BAD BUSINESS ETHICS. ETHIOPIA WILL PAY IN DUE COURSE ANY JUST CLAIMS AMERICAN SECRET

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FIRMS CAN PRESENT EVEN THOUGH OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE MUCH MORE REASON TO COMPLAIN. FELEKE CONCLUDED WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT USG SHOULD NOT USE THIS ISSUE TO DAMAGE U.S.-ETHIOPIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS AS PMGSE HAS BEEN

TOTALLY PREOCCUPIED WITH WAR, REBELLION, REVOLUTION AND FAMINE; HENCE CREATION OF EFFECTIVE COMPENSATION COMMISSION HAS BEEN DIFFICULT.

8. SPEAKING IN A TONE OF SORROW RATHER THAN ANGER AND WITH A SENSE THAT ETHIOPIA HAD BEEN BETRAYED OVER LAST

FEW YEARS BY U.S., FELEKE SAID THAT ANY FURTHER INTERFERENCE BY U.S. IN INTERNAL ETHIOPIAN AFFAIRS COULD LEAD TO RENEWED DETERIORATION IN NOW-IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. FORMIN NOTED THAT ETHIOPIAN POINT OF VIEW IS SELDOM EXPLAINED TO U.S. PUBLIC. JUST DAY BEFORE, HE HAD GIVEN MAJOR SPEECH TO UN AND JUNE 2 PAPERS DID NOT COVER IT - POSSIBLY UNDER USG ORDERS - BUT DID HAVE REPORT ABOUT U.S. ARMS FOR SOMALIA. (WHEN INFORMED OF NATURE OF FREE PRESS HERE AND ADVISED TO SEEK INTERVIEW WITH U.S. JOURNALISTS, FELEKE RETORTED PRESS IN ADDIS IS FREE TOO AND U.S. EMBASSY SHOULD STOP COMPLAINING ABOUT PRESS COVERAGE AND GO SEEK INTERVIEWS WITH ADDIS PRESS INSTEAD). FELEKE SAID IT APPEARS THAT U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS AGAIN GOING TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE, BY GIVING ARMS TO SOMALIA, AS IT HAS AT EVERY CRISIS POINT IN ETHIOPIAN HISTORY SINCE 1935. THIS CONTRASTED WITH ETHIOPIAN HELP TO U.S. DURING KOREAN CONFLICT.

9. FELEKE MADE CLEAR MAIN OBJECT OF HIS CONCERNS WAS REPORTED U.S. ARMS DEAL WITH SOMALIA. DESPITE REPEATED OBJECTIONS BY HARROP, FELEKE CONSTANTLY INTERPRETED ARMS DEAL AS FAIT ACCOMPLI. FELEKE SAID ETHIOPIA WAS NO THREAT TO SOMALIA BUT SOMALIA WAS TO ETHIOPIA. \$15 MILLION ARMS PACKAGE FOR SIAD WILL ENCOURAGE SOMALIA TO CARRY OUT NEW AGGRESSION AGAINST ETHIOPIA.

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10. FELEKE OPINED U.S. TURNED AGAINST ETHIOPIA BECAUSE ETHIOPIA CHANGED SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. USG MUST NOW TRY TO CREATE A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA AND NOT INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ETHIOPIA. USG MUST RECOGNIZE THAT ERITREA IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF ETHIOPIA. USG MUST RECOGNIZE THAT ETHIOPIA HAS RIGHT TO CALL FOR HELP, FELEKE CONTINUED. NO ONE IN U.S. COMPLAINED WHEN SOMALIS BROUGHT IN HELP BUT THE MOMENT CUBANS AND SOVIETS ARRIVED, U.S. OBJECTED. FELEKE ASKED WHAT U.S. WANTED TO SEE; PROLONGED CIVIL WAR IN ETHIOPIA? U.S. TRAINED ETHIOPIAN ARMY FOR 25 YEARS BUT LEFT IT IN POOR SHAPE. IS U.S. LIKE OTHERS WHO WERE FRIENDS OF ETHIOPIA BUT THEN JOINED LIST OF ENEMIES?

II. FOREIGN MINISTER THEN AGAIN REPEATED THAT IF REPORTS OF U.S. DELIVERY OF ARMS TO SOMALIA ARE CORRECT, IT WILL ENDANGER OR CAUSE DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONS. AGGRESSION CONTINUES IN THE OGADEN AND WILL END ONLY WHEN

SOMALIA COMPLETELY AND TOTALLY RENOUNCES ITS EXPANSIONIST

GOALS VIS-A-VIS ITS NEIGHBORS. AT THAT MOMENT, THE NEED FOR THE CUBAN AND SOVIET PRESENCE WILL END. HOWEVER, IF U.S. SENDS AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA AND GUNS TO SOMALIA, OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WILL BE BACK WHERE THEY WERE BEFORE. ARMS FOR SOMALIA WILL ALSO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR GARBA TO CONVINCE SOMALIS TO NEGOTIATE OVER FACTORS UNDERLYING OGADEN DISPUTE. AFTER HARROP EXPLAINED OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SIAD AND THE PROMISES WE HAVE EXTRACTED FROM SIAD, FELEKE ASKED HOW U.S. COULD SUCCEED WHERE USSR COULD NOT AND WHY U.S. THOUGHT IT COULD BELIEVE SIAD ANYWAY? HARROP NOTED AGAIN THAT NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE YET, NO ARMS HAVE BEEN SHIPPED, AND, IN FACT, A
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MILITARY SURVEY TEAM HAD NOT YET GONE TO SOMALIA.

12. HARROP THEN SAID HE WANTED TO TALK ABOUT ERITREA ON A PERSONAL, UNINSTRUCTED BASIS. HE RECOUNTED DETAILS OF 1950 UN FEDERATION MODEL AND ASKED IF ETHIOPIANS MIGHT BE WILLING TO CORRECT WHAT HAILE SELASSIE DID IN 1962. FELEKE RESPONDED THAT 1962 MUST BE SEEN IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT. ERITREA HAD BEEN 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL CREATION. ITS PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE FREELY DECIDED IN 1962 TO DISSOLVE FEDERAL STATUS AND MERGE FULLY INTO ETHIOPIA. FELEKE NOTED THAT NO DECISION REMAINS IN EFFECT IN PERPETUITY. ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA FOLLOWED CORRECT PROCEDURE IN 1962 TO CHANGE 1950 UN DECISION. PMGSE HAS NINE-POINT PLAN TO CORRECT FAULTS IN HAILE SELASSIE APPROACH TO ALL NATIONALITIES QUESTIONS. SECESSIONISTS DO NOT REPRESENT ERITREAN PEOPLE. ONCE REBELS ARE ELIMINATED, A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WILL BE POSSIBLE. WHATEVER STATUS ERITREA EVENTUALLY HAS, IT IS INTERNAL ETHIOPIAN AFFAIR AND NOT ONE FOR SAUDI ARABIAN, ARAB, SUDANESE, OAU, OR UN CONCERN.

13. HARROP ENDED FRANK EXCHANGE BY NOTING THAT WE WERE NOT AGAINST THE REVOLUTION ALTHOUGH WE DID WISH IT DID NOT KILL SO MANY PEOPLE. WE DO HAVE LONG TRADITION OF FRIENDSHIP WITH ETHIOPIA WE HOPE TO MAINTAIN. WE UNDERSTAND AND DO NOT CHALLENGE ETHIOPIA'S RIGHT TO REQUEST HELP FROM ANY QUARTER BUT, AS AARON EXPLAINED IN FEBRUARY, WE CANNOT HELP BUT BE CONCERNED AT THE DESTABILIZING EFFECT OF SUCH A LARGE SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE. AND, IN ALL FRANKNESS, THE BLOODSHED AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS WOULD CONTINUE TO

CONCERN US DEEPLY. VANCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

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